



Mackenzie Delta Research Project

Inuvik Community Structure – Summer 1965.

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By J. Mailhot

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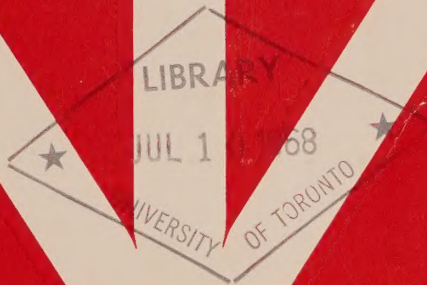
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COMMUNITY STRUCTURE – INUVIK – SUMMER 1965

by

José Mailhot

This report is based on research carried out while the author was under contract to the Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, now the Northern Science Research Group of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It is reproduced here as a contribution to our knowledge of the North. The opinions expressed however are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department

Requests for copies of this report should be addressed to Chief, Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Northern Science Research Group,
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
Ottawa, May, 1968.

ABSTRACT

This report analyzes many features of community structure in Inuvik, which is a new northern town in the Mackenzie Delta. The population of Inuvik is heterogeneous, and includes Eskimos, Indians, Whites, and Metis. A population breakdown shows it to be almost evenly divided between permanent and transient residents. The "transient residents" group includes most persons in the "White" category and includes very few persons from the other three ethnic groupings.

Analysis in this study concentrates on the community organizations and associations of Inuvik. They are examined with two questions in mind. Firstly, the intent is to discover the extent to which such organizations fostered a feeling of community solidarity across ethnic lines. Secondly, the degree in which these organizations functioned as training grounds for local leaders is considered.

The existence of a marked split between the permanent and transient groups in Inuvik is demonstrated. Community organizations were in most instances dominated by people from the latter group. These organizations for the most part tended to be relatively ineffective as training grounds for local leaders.

The author concludes that in fact two communities exist at Inuvik, and she suggests that policies dealing with Inuvik should take this into consideration.

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FOREWORD

The Mackenzie Delta Research Project is an attempt to describe and analyze the social and economic factors related to development in the Mackenzie Delta. Particular emphasis is being directed toward the participation of the native people of the area, and the extent to which they are making effective adjustments to changes brought about by government and commercial expansion in the North. The individual studies within the project and the conclusions arising from them will be published in a series of reports.

This study, MDRP 4 by José Mailhot, was undertaken to provide information about the social structure of the new town of Inuvik. Earlier studies of fur trade settlements in the north already provided a basic framework for understanding the structure of most of the smaller communities in the Mackenzie Delta. Inuvik however, was a quite different community, and its unique features called for analysis.

In addition to providing some understanding of a Delta community, it is hoped that this study may contribute to an understanding of other new communities appearing in the Canadian North which share in varying degrees its "modern" qualities.

A.J. Kerr,
Co-ordinator,
Mackenzie Delta
Research Project.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author carried out the field work for the study in co-operation with Constance Roux, a student in Anthropology at the University of Montreal. Miss Roux proved to be a very alert and helpful ethnographer in the field, as well as a great help in analyzing the data. A year after her summer of field work in Inuvik, a tragic motor accident claimed her life while she was travelling to the site of a second season of field work. Her death ended the promise of a successful future in her chosen profession, and was a great loss to her many friends and acquaintances. Without her engaging presence and sharp intellect, field work in Inuvik in the summer of 1965 would have been much more difficult.

It is impossible to mention individually the many people in Inuvik who kindly gave time and effort to provide information. Persons attached to government agencies in Inuvik gave full co-operation. To the many residents of Inuvik who helped us, a debt of gratitude is acknowledged here.

José Mailhot.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The material for this report was collected during the summer of 1965. It is unfortunate that no study on Inuvik has covered more than a three month period through summer and fall. This severe limitation is of special importance when social and political organization is being studied in a location where the nature of social interaction which can be observed is often influenced by the season. The study which follows is therefore undoubtedly biased by the fact that it was done in the summer. There was a good deal of evidence to suggest that this was the season when social activity had considerably slowed down.

The underlying purpose of this study is to investigate the integration of the local native population into the cultural and social life of Inuvik. This purpose will be found to underlie all the judgments and recommendations which are made.

José Mailhot,
Montreal,
June, 1966.

MACKENZIE DELTA



CHAPTER I

INUVIK'S BASIC FEATURES

Physical lay-out of the town

It has been often stated (Lotz, 1962; Cohen, 1962; Fried, 1962) that the basic physical feature of Inuvik is the dichotomy, created by differences in housing and services, between a "serviced area" and an "unserved area". This needs no elaboration. The "utilidor" is an ever-present criterion establishing the separation not only between the "two ends of town", but also between "the whites from the serviced area" and "the natives from the unserved area".¹

Besides this fundamental dichotomy, housing creates a number of different neighbourhoods: in the serviced area, there is a section of "apartments", 3 and 4 bedroom "row houses", and a "single units" section. This last, having a sophisticated sub-section in Camsell Place, is made up of 3 and 4 bedroom detached houses. In the unserved portion, there are two areas: a large section containing primarily "512's",² and also low-cost houses and other types including a few trailers, and a *shack tent area*, commonly called "tent town", on which much has already been written (Lotz, 1962). Recently, with the creation of a *Housing Co-operative*, a new residential area has developed. This co-operative is responsible for the erection of 16 prefabricated bungalows, and this section promises to be the most attractive residential part of the unserved end of town.

Demographic structures

From a demographic point of view, the two population blocks of the town have different structures. The native block contains all elements and age-groups; demographically speaking it has a "normal" population. It has adults of all ages, a very high proportion of children, a large teenage group, a few old people, and some physically or psychologically unfit individuals. The main characteristics of the native population are the normal distribution of its elements by age and the inclusion of a significant number of individuals who are not self-supporting and are socially and economically non-contributive for reasons of age or health.

On the other hand, the white population segment can be described as "abnormal". It is mainly made up of young and middle-aged people with young children, few teenagers, no old nor physically handicapped individuals, and above all of a larger number of young single adults (nurses, teachers, Navy men). This second group has the profile of a typical "working population" where individuals are included on the basis of their capacity to hold a job and to be economically productive.

In spite of these differences, the two populations have a basic common feature: mobility. The white population is a mobile one. With rare exceptions, people coming to work in Inuvik do not intend to make it their permanent home. This leads to a constant change of personnel. Some of the most dedicated civil servants (called "new reformers" by Cohen) may stay six or seven years, or, in rare cases, longer. But in some government agencies, the mobility is extreme. In the Navy, for example, the usual period of residence is short; few men stay longer than the minimum term.

Among the white population, those concerned with Northern Affairs and National Resources, teaching, National Health and Welfare, nursing, and medical staff are constantly changing, but Naval personnel are the most transient population segment of the town. Top government officials are not so transient, but they are always faced with the possibility of transfer to some other post. The only permanent white residents are a few civil servants who intend to build houses in town, and another group (mostly local business owners) who live in the unserved area.³

¹ These expressions do not fully correspond to actuality because the unserved area includes whites who have established permanent residency in town, either because they have set up a local business or because they have married a native woman. (They are Cohen's "new northerners"). But still the white native dichotomy is fundamental in the local vocabulary, and the terms are used to refer to the two population blocks in Town. The term "natives" includes Eskimos, Indians, and Métis.

² "512's" are small houses (512 sq. ft. floor area) built by the Dept. of Northern Affairs during the construction of the town. Many have since been sold to private persons.

³ We will call this last group "white permanent residents" or include them with the natives in the term "local people", in opposition to transients or non-permanent whites.

The mobility of the native population can be called short-term; it is not subject to a constant replacement of population elements, but rather their mobility is due to their circulating in and out of the settlement for economic and social reasons. Aside from a small floating population, native people remain permanent residents of Inuvik. Many are likely to be out of town in the Delta for a definite period in each year if they are professional trappers, or for sporadic short periods on week-end fishing and hunting trips if they are employed. The degree of instability varies among the three neighbourhoods of the unserved area. The most stable residential area is that of the Inuvik Housing Co-operative, where family heads are all steadily employed and can afford time only for short trips out of town. The most mobile population segment of the unserved area resides in "tent town", where people live between periods of hunting, trapping, and fishing in the Delta, and where a number of individuals, socially isolated and ill-adapted to the urban social context, find a place to sleep.

Ethnic Groups

Making a classification by ethnic groups in Inuvik is complicated by various reasons:

- (1) The high rate of inter-marriage which has resulted in many intermediates;
- (2) the arbitrary nature of official criteria used in establishing an individual's status;
- (3) the lag between official status and real ethnic background.

The "lag" mentioned in (3) provides the individual of mixed origin with the opportunity of manipulating his ethnic status. He may identify himself as belonging to one of several categories, depending on the situation.

According to the September 1964 census carried out by National Health and Welfare, Inuvik's population was distributed as follows: 1367 individuals of white status, 646 of Eskimo status, and 245 of Indian status, for a total population of 2258. These figures do not, we believe, give a real picture of the relative size of these ethnic groups. They refer to the individual's official status; this is not what accounts for his membership in groups based on ethnicity. We believe that Table I, taken from our demographic data collected in the unserved area of town, gives a more accurate picture of its ethnic composition. Here individuals are classified according to their ethnic background.¹

Table I: Breakdown by Ethnic Background of Inuvik's Permanent Population – Summer, 1965

	Indian	Eskimo	I/W	E/I	W	Total
Number of Individuals	128	405	220	45	88	886

Distinctions made in the local vocabulary indicate the existence of four ethnic groups:

1. *Whites* are: (a) southern individuals residing in the crown-housing area of town for a relatively short period;
(b) permanent local residents who are "new northerners";
(c) old northern residents married to native women.

Individuals falling in (b) and (c) live in the unserved area of town. The term "white" can have a slightly pejorative tone when used by the native people to refer to transient white people as opposed to themselves.

2. The term *Eskimos* refers to individuals of official Eskimo status. Most have white blood dating back to the whaling days at the beginning of the century; in fact, some official Eskimos have white fathers. The term "Eskimo" also includes individuals of mixed Eskimo and white origin who do not have Eskimo status but who still blend with the Eskimo group and do not form a separate Eskimo Métis group. The expressions "Eskimo Métis" or "half-breed Eskimo" are hardly ever heard.

3. Treaty and non-treaty Indians are called *Indians*.

¹ Because of population mobility and the difficulty encountered in discovering the real ethnic background of some individuals, these figures are tentative.

4. The expressions "half-breed", "half-breed Indian", and "Métis" are used in referring to individuals with Indian blood but possessing white status. We were told half-breed Indians do not like to be called "half-breeds". This is a derogatory term, and they would rather be called Métis.

On the basis of many statements concerning their perception of the various native ethnic groups, we can draw a picture of the "Eskimo", the "Indian", and the "Métis", as they are seen by different categories of Inuvik residents.

Most whites, typically paternalistic towards the North and its people, view Eskimos as "straight-forward", honest, smiling, friendly, and good-natured with a lot of "good sense" and personal resources, people whose basic nature is close to that of the white man; who learn quickly and who have therefore adapted quite rapidly to a new cultural situation and become relatively steady efficient workers. But, because they are favoured in work and welfare by the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, they have become dependent and child-like. Indians and Métis see the Eskimos as especially protected and favoured by the government. Indians envy them, while Métis often explain the situation by saying that Eskimos "cannot make a living for themselves".

The Indians tend to be seen by the same group of "colonial" whites as the opposite of the "good Eskimos": temperamental and crafty, lacking will, persistence, and practical sense, tending to be rather lazy and unreliable workers. Métis, on the other hand, are seen by white employers as mostly outspoken individuals with a lot of initiative and aggressiveness, and as the best trappers and real "go-getters" as far as work is concerned, with more control over their drinking than other groups. All this is attributed to the fact that they are not over-protected by the government. Religious teachers say the Métis exhibit feelings of inferiority in front of whites, but feel superior to "full natives".

Religious Grouping.

The main features of religious grouping in Inuvik are the multiplicity of churches, the overlapping of church membership among the natives, and the open competition between the various denominations.

The Anglican and the Roman Catholic Churches have both had missions in Aklavik for a number of years and have been established in Inuvik since the construction of the town. They are the most important of the four churches in Inuvik, both in number of parishioners and in organization. The Anglican Church is represented by an Anglican minister who organizes and directs religious activities, and by a second minister who is superintendent of the Anglican-operated hostel. Anglican activities are held in the Anglican Hall which serves as a church as well as a parish hall. Sunday Services and Sunday School for children, an afternoon Eskimo service, and a weekly evening prayer service are held there.

Most of the transient whites are Anglicans in their Inuvik religious affiliations. In the Western Arctic, the Eskimos were converted by Anglican missionaries and the majority of Inuvik Eskimos today belong to the Anglican Church. Again for historical reasons, fewer Indians belong to the Anglican Church, but the church choir is composed of seven Indian youngsters who are all members of the same family.

The Roman Catholic Church is represented in Inuvik by three French priests (of whom one is the parish priest, and another the superintendent of the Catholic-operated hostel), and six nuns who work at the hostel and in some cases teach at the school. The Roman Catholic Church has an unusual "igloo-type" church building and a parish hall for non-religious activities. Religious activities regularly include a daily afternoon mass, Sunday morning low mass and high masses, a Sunday afternoon low mass, a weekly evening prayer service, as well as daily rosary-reciting sessions held in the homes of parishioners. The church membership is mostly Indian and Métis, with a few Eskimos and approximately 45 southern white families. The Roman Catholic Church in Inuvik does not appear to wield a great influence over the native population. The active participation of natives in the Church's religious activities and their respect for "Catholic morality" does not appear great. The missionary is not viewed today as the almighty representative of God. The Catholic Parish Priest's function has shifted in large part from that of religious pastor to that of a sort of business administrator and "welfare-provider".

The most dynamic and controversial of the four churches in Inuvik is the Christian Assembly, commonly called the Pentecostal Church. Its members are sometimes derogatively called "holy rollers". This Church is directed by a white missionary (formerly Anglican) and a local Eskimo minister originally from Alaska. Its membership includes a relatively small number of Eskimos who previously belonged to this church at Reindeer Station, together with recent converts from other local churches, mainly the Anglican. The Pentecostals hold two Sunday services,

Sunday School, and a Wednesday evening service. These services are highly emotional. Rhythmic music and singing play a large part, and emotional manifestations such as weeping and crying are common. This group is orientated towards Eskimo culture and values. The assembly is always predominantly Eskimo, and the Eskimo minister often preaches or directs prayers in its native language. The outstanding characteristic of the Pentecostal Church is its extremely strict morality which is seen especially in its attitude to recreation and drinking. All members refrain from drinking, and this church has developed a group of sober Eskimos, who, because of their strict behaviour and consequent reliability on the job, have no difficulty in becoming steadily employed wage-workers, and have thereby reached a relatively high socio-economic status in the local community.

The fourth church in Inuvik is the Church of the Latter Day Saints, recently introduced by a group of southern Albertan Mormons. They have no church building and hold a Sunday service and Sunday school in the school. Since the establishment of the branch in Inuvik a year and a half ago, the Church of the Latter Day Saints has recruited only a few individuals (who, in fact, had previous connections with this sect before coming to Inuvik). It includes some seven transient white families. They appear to be a closed group with a strict morality and no notable activities.

Church membership among the natives is not rigid; a considerable number of people attend services of two or more churches. Nominal Anglicans and Roman Catholics go to the Pentecostal Church because they live closer to it (they say), or because they enjoy the music there. A few Anglicans who miss something in their own services sometimes attend the more elaborate Catholic high mass. Some people will attend services in two different churches on a single Sunday. This ease in going from one Church to the other encourages proselytizing activities on the part of the Church leaders; these have led to a number of conversions. The Pentecostal Church, whose leaders visit people in their homes and at the hospital, is the most proselytizing sect. It also exerts pressure on some of the Eskimo drinkers through the Eskimo minister. The Roman Catholic parish priest is also quite active and lists 26 conversions from the Protestants in seven years, mostly through transient whites' mixed marriages. He has also converted a few natives and has a considerable list of eventual converts. The Anglican group seems to be less concerned with proselytizing, although it has undertaken to organize yearly visits to all homes in town.

The most obvious feature of religious organization in Inuvik is the dichotomy between Anglicans and Catholics and the open competition between these two groups. The dichotomy is physically visible in the hostels and in the school. When Inuvik was built, both churches lost many of their educational functions to the government, but the non-mission Inuvik Federal Day School has both a Protestant and a Catholic wing. This separation exists for grades up to nine. Grades from both wings use common facilities such as the gym, the library and the workshop (although most of the time at different hours). The Catholic wing has mostly Indian pupils with a few whites, and only Catholic teachers. In the other wing are children of non-Catholic denominations, mostly Eskimos and whites, and both Anglican and Catholic teachers. Although trouble between children of the two sides of the school is said to be decreasing, the division still exists. Observations during recess period showed that although young girls used a common playground, they did not mix together but stayed on "their" side of the school. At a recent Student's Union election, both candidates were supported by their respective wings, and the election was contested on the basis of religious identification. Such competition is kept strong by the fact that most children live in the hostels, and since these are separate, children have little occasion to get to know their opposites. Still, some change has been noted: the children of the two hostels used to wear jackets of contrasting colours (thus "the others" were easily recognizable), but this is not done any more. But the same division is evident in the grouping of Guides and Brownies, which are completely denominational and are connected either with the hostels or with the missions. The Guides and Brownies have held two or three joint formal meetings and recently have started camping together once year, but they still operate separately. Some efforts have been made by various groups to reduce the separation between Protestants and Catholics. The Brownie leaders have attempted to meet and share common activities, but they appear to have run up against too many difficulties.

Thus we can see that this religious division has been "built into" Inuvik, and that people enter an already fixed scheme; they are placed in a situation where they are identified with one group that opposes another group.

Social Stratification

On a socio-economic scale of status, the population of the serviced area is distributed according to the bureaucratic system of rank. The social position held by an individual is connected with his occupational position within a government agency.

The population of the *unserved area* is loosely structured; still, social stratification is emerging within it, as are possibilities of upward social mobility for the individual. Upward mobility seems to rest primarily on being a sober and reliable person capable of holding a permanent job. The creation of a Housing Co-operative in Inuvik has greatly contributed to the easy identification of a "local elite". Its members have worked their way up from being new arrivals with the trapper's background, in many cases in an urban context, to a state of economic self-support. They have achieved a rather good adaptation to the urban way of life and to the white man's system of values. The pattern of social advancement includes going from a tent to a rented "512", to one's own house (in most cases a "Co-op house"); and from a partial dependence on welfare to the complete self-support made possible by steady employment. This new "local elite" includes Co-op members (mostly Eskimo), as well as a few individuals of the other ethnic groups who have achieved upward mobility without the Co-operative "ladder".

CHAPTER II

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS AND INTEGRATION

Many of the problems of relationships between ethnic groups in the urban social life of Inuvik can be analysed through the formal social life (voluntary associations) and the patterns of informal social interaction in the town.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Since Lotz (1962) made his survey of Inuvik, the number of voluntary associations has increased remarkably. There has been a proliferation of groups of all types, functions, and degrees of importance. We recorded forty-eight, as listed in Table II.

TABLE II
Classified List of Voluntary Associations in Inuvik
Summer 1965

A. Religious

Anglican Vestry Committee
Women's Auxiliary
*Anglican Choir
*Anglican Youth Group
*Anglican Bible School
Holy Name Society
Catholic Women's League
Relief Society

B. Community Service

Advisory Committee
Town Planning Committee
Clean-up Committee
Steering Committee
Voluntary Fire Brigade
*Junior Fire Patrol
*SAMS Press Club
Library and Museum Society
YWCA Committee

C. Educational and Philanthropic

Home and School Association
Pre-School Association
Women's Study Group
*Stefansson Science Club
Women's Institute
Lions' Club
Mother's Group

D. Patriotic

Royal Canadian Legion
*Inuvik Cadet Corps

E. Economic

Innuvit Housing Co-operative
Chamber of Commerce

F. Occupational

Civil Service Association
Teachers' Association
Trappers' Association
*Students' Union

G. Recreational

Inuvik Community Association
Ing-a-mo Association
Playground Committee
Chess Club
Drama Club
*Teen Town
*Scouts and Cubs
*Guides and Brownies

H. Athletic

Inuvik Curling Club
*SAMS Curling Club
Fastball League
Basketball Club
Badminton Club
Boxing Club
Weight-lifting Club
*Ski Club

*Indicates associations for youngsters and teenagers.

A number of Inuvik citizens are aware of this multiplicity of local associations and think there are too many for the town's population. Complaints are often heard about the fact that in the winter—the season of intense social activity—there is a meeting of some sort every night of the week, and that quite often three or four meetings are called on the same evening. The consequence of this is said to be that little time is left for a private life at home.

Given these statements, and the number of associations in town, should we say Inuvik is "over-organized"? It must be remembered that voluntary associations are a typically *urban* phenomenon; the number of local associations is a direct reflection of the heterogeneity of a town's population, and their function is to fulfill the numerous needs of a diversified population which cannot be fulfilled by primary groups. Thus, the multiplicity and the variation of voluntary organizations in Inuvik is directly related to its population's diversity at all levels: ethnic, religious, cultural, social, and economic.

Functions of Local Associations

Although we did not make a complete study of the functions filled by the various organizations in Inuvik, many of these organizations seem to represent responses to the specific needs of one sector of the population—the southern suburban middle-class group. The establishment of these organizations in the town can be seen as the transplanting of southern suburban preoccupations, with the importation of ready-made formulas to give structure to these southern interests. Quite a few organizations, therefore, seem to have an artificial existence, almost completely detached from any local need or setting, and owe their survival to the interest of very small groups of individuals who seem to have nothing to share with a wider community.

General Participation in Formal Organizations

Some residents of Inuvik say a feature of the multiplicity of associations is the fact that "all organizations are kept going by the same small group of individuals, who attend every meeting and event in town". They deplore the general apathy and lack of interest shown by most other people.

A gross evaluation of the degree of interest in formal associations can be made through the data presented in Table III, which gives the numbers of individuals who belong to the main associations—of which 3 are the principal sports clubs in town—and, in addition, the leaders of the Guides and Scouts, and the executive members of 3 secondary sports clubs. These figures cannot be taken as precisely representative of the degree of participation of townspeople, but they can be considered significant as indicators of the general patterns of participation.

Table III Number of adults belonging to a specified number of associations

<u>No. of associations</u>	<u>No. of individuals</u>
1	198
2	192
3	79
4	46
5	21
6	13
7	4
8	2
9	2
10	0
11	1
<u>Total:</u>	558

Most people belong to one or two associations. Those who belong to one association only, include Naval personnel belonging to the Royal Canadian Legion, single teachers and nurses who attend the Drama Club's cultural activities, native Co-op members, and native women who belong to a religious group. In most instances, people who belong to two associations are members of one of the sports clubs (the most popular of which is the Curling Club), and also the Community Association. (Recreational clubs are affiliated with the Inuvik Community Association). These categories of people cannot be considered as "active" individuals in the formal group life of the community.

Individuals belonging to three associations can be said to participate "moderately"; they do belong to a few groups but they are not seen very frequently in the Inuvik public scene.

Those participating in the activities of four or more voluntary associations can be called "active" and "very active" members of the community. They number 89. Among the white population this group includes teachers, local businessmen, a few men married to native women, and a great number of the more senior civil servants, who, though transient, have been long-term residents of the town. Also included is a group of natives belonging to what we have called the "local elite", who characteristically have adapted to the white man's way of life and to his values. The extremely "active" individuals are dynamic young persons holding important government positions or running local businesses, as well as a few natives with a high socio-economic status or obvious leadership qualities. It can be said that in Inuvik the real interest in local associations is concentrated within a group fewer than 8% of the total adult population.

Integration and inter-ethnic relationships within voluntary associations

The participation of ethnic groups in local associations can be seen in Table IV

Table IV Number of adults of different ethnic groups belonging to a specified number of associations

<u>No. of associations</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Natives</u>
1	198	139	59
2	192	162	30
3	79	73	6
4	46	40	6
5	21	16	5
6	13	9	4
7	4	2	2
8	2	2	0
9	2	2	0
10	0	0	0
11	1	1	0
<u>Total</u>	558	446	112

These data indicate that with relatively equal populations of natives and whites, only one-fourth as many natives participate in the main associations in town as do whites. It must be noted that almost 80% of the natives participating in formal social life belong to one or two associations only and therefore can be classified as less than "moderately active". The number of truly "active" natives is fewer than twenty, among which two can be considered extremely active. Generally speaking, since local associations attract only a very small proportion of the native population, such associations can be considered as a predominantly white sphere of social activity.

To clarify this further, it is necessary to examine all associations with reference to ethnic separation. Table V gives membership figures for 35 of the town's 48 associations by ethnic groups and types of residence. Eight groups were omitted for lack of data, and five groups for which we did not collect precise membership information do not appear in the table, but will be dealt with later.

Table V Membership in voluntary associations by residence and ethnicity

Association	Tot. memb.	Trans.	Perm.	White	Native
Vestry Committee	12	9	3	10	2
Women's Auxiliary	21	12	9	14	7
Anglican Choir	6	0	6	0	6
Holy Name Society	20	14	6	15	5
Catholic Women's League	24	19	5	18	6
Relief Society	5	5	0	5	0
Advisory Committee	20	5	15	12	8
Town-planning Committee	7	4	3	6	1
Steering Committee	5	0	5	1	4
Clean-up Committee	9	6	3	8	1
Voluntary Fire Brigade	18	14	4	15	3
SAMS' Press Club	4	2	2	2	2
Library and Museum Society	7	5	2	5	2
YWCA Committee	5	2	3	4	1
Home and School Association	65	43	22	57	8
Pre-School Association	9	8	1	8	1
Women's Study Group	12	7	5	9	3
Stefansson Science Club	5	4	1	4	1
Women's Institute	12	0	12	2	10
Lions' Club	51	37	14	50	1
Mothers' Group	16	13	3	16	0
Royal Canadian Legion	132	120	12	130	2
Inuvik Community Association	307	* 248	* 59	* 273	* 34
Ing-a-mo Association	53	10	43	25	28
Playground Committee	6	5	1	6	0
Chess Club	6	3	3	5	1
Drama Club	21	21	0	21	0
Innuvit Housing Co-op	45	4	41	13	32
Civil Service Association	46	28	18	33	13
Inuvik Cadet Corps	32	8	24	9	23
Scouts and Cubs	186	—	—	52	134
Guides and Brownies	205	—	—	* 68	137
Inuvik Curling Club	168	137	31	149	19
Inuvik Fastball League	* 110	* 89	21	99	* 11
Badminton Club	24	16	8	18	6

*Approximately

On the basis of participation by ethnic groups, the associations listed here can be classified into three categories: associations exclusively and predominantly white, associations exclusively and predominantly native, and associations roughly equally native and white.

(1) Exclusively and predominantly white associations

There are twenty-five such associations among those that were studied. The absence of native members was attributed to a variety of reasons, some of which would be expected from the nature of the association. These include: the high cost of membership (e.g. the Lions' Club); special restrictions in membership (e.g. the Canadian Legion requires service in the Armed Forces); specific interests which have little overlap with important native interests and values (e.g. the Chess Club Library and Museum Society Drama Club, Stefansson Science Club).

Of more interest to us, several women's groups appeared to demand more formal education than almost any of the middle-aged generation of native women had obtained (e.g. the Relief Society, Women's Study Group, Pre-school Association). The same educational limits appear to affect membership in the Town Planning Committee and possibly in the Clean-up Committee. The reasons for the absence of native members from the Y.M.C.A. Committee and the Playground Committee, as well as the reasons for lack of fuller native participation in the Fire Brigade and the Association for Guides and Brownies, were not clear.

It was reported that Anglican and Catholic women's groups originally had a majority of native members. With the arrival of a large number of southern white women, however, the native women withdrew almost completely. Now men's and women's Anglican and Catholic church groups attract only a few native members. Leaders of the Catholic Women's League and of the Anglican Women's Auxiliary reported marginal participation, quite a few native women showing some interest and attending meetings irregularly.

The Inuvik Community Association and the Inuvik Home and School Association must be discussed together because the former grew from the latter. The Home and School Association (the minutes of which go back to its creation in 1956) was originally entirely native and operated actively as such for two years. In 1958 a few white individuals (missionaries and teachers) were included in the group, although it continued to be predominantly native and locally orientated. But when the new school in Inuvik was opened in September 1959, and there was an influx of outsiders, the Association became almost entirely white. The association now operates with a small number of native participants. Nevertheless, one quarter of the white members of the association are permanent residents of Inuvik, which tends to prevent the organization from being entirely orientated towards imported southern interests.

In 1959 some of the former native members of the Home and School Association participated in the activities of the recently formed Inuvik Community Association. Some native people served on the predominantly white Board of Directors for a few years, and native names appear here and there on committees created for specific purposes. But the bulk of the native people were overwhelmed by southern whites, and withdrew. Today, the Community Association appears to be an all-white organization run by southern middle-class people. It does not attract the native population as did the original locally orientated Home and School Association.

At one time, a Métis leader on the executive board of the Curling Club did get a good number of natives to curl, but after a short time they withdrew, and curling is now reported to be largely a white activity. It was said that some natives, once active curlers in the former Aklavik Curling Club, do not curl in Inuvik.

High-school sports activities (basketball and curling) involve a few very active and interested young natives. They are, however, in the minority because of the smaller proportion of native students in senior grades.

(2) Exclusively and Predominantly Native Associations

There are seven associations in this category.

Many native children and teenagers are members of the *Guides and Brownies*, the *Scouts and Cubs*, and the *Cross-Country Ski Club* because these associations all include important numbers of hostel children. We do not know if the extensive membership of native teenage boys in the *Cadet Corps* can be attributed to a special interest in military discipline, or whether it has some other cause. The composition of the predominantly Eskimo *Steering Committee* appears to result from the interest of the Regional Administrator and of the Public Health worker in getting local individuals to take part in the management of local affairs such as public health.

Only permanent residents of the town are members of the *Women's Institute*; almost all are native. The association was originally organized by and for the native women, with some outside help. Later, transient white women began to join the group and, correlatively, native members withdrew till no one was left to provide continuity and the association died out. Following this, an outside counsellor reorganized the native women, and the *Women's Institute* has operated actively ever since without southern white members.

Both in size and function the most important primarily native association in Inuvik is the predominantly Eskimo *Inuit Co-operative Society*. The creation of the Co-operative Society is the work of a group of natives who realized some three years ago that better houses were needed. They organized a co-operative to purchase houses for their members. Originally, this co-operative included a few Indians, but these later withdrew. Within two years, 13 Eskimos, 2 local whites, and one Indian Métis put up prefabricated "suburban ranch-style" houses in a separate

residential area allotted to the Co-operative. Recently a growing number of whites, mainly permanent residents of the town, have become interested in the Co-op's activities and are also planning to build. Co-operative membership is still predominantly Eskimo, and except for one member, the executive is Eskimo. According to its white secretary, however, the Co-op is facing a problem. It did not succeed in putting up houses during the summer of 1965; because of this some Eskimos have lost interest, and Eskimo attendance at general meetings is low. Some white members now tend to dominate discussions at these meetings. Although the Co-op membership is mainly Eskimo, it is open to anyone. The applications of whites to join can be seen as a threat to the primarily local and Eskimo orientation of the association. This problem will be treated in more detail in the next chapter.

(3) Equally white and Native Associations.

Only two such associations exist in Inuvik: the *Ing-a-mo Association* and the *Advisory Committee*.

The four-month old Ing-a-mo Association represents a reaction to white domination of voluntary associations and local organizations. Its organization appears to have been triggered by the white community leaders' rejecting a project to build a "native hall".

Its organizers felt that native people as a group had common values and a cultural and historical heritage, and that there was great need to provide facilities for this group to have its own recreational activities and to preserve its common values. The aim of the Association is the acquisition of a building to be used as a "community" or "native" hall. The group's leaders say this hall would be a focus for organizing such things as movies, Eskimo drum dances, "old-time" dances, and native story-telling sessions.

Although nominally an Indian and Eskimo association, it is open to all. It actually includes almost as many whites as natives, but these whites are mainly permanent residents married to native women or "locally orientated" long-term residents. In spite of the number of whites in the association and its all-white leadership, it is obvious that the group is essentially locally orientated and operated. The interest this association generated among the native population is noteworthy: within three months of its formation, Ing-a-mo had 28 native members, a number matched only by the Innuvit Co-op, which has been operating for three years. Apart from three white leaders, meetings are attended predominantly by natives. Most white individuals' membership in the association is characterized by moral and financial support, and by benevolent patronage.

We shall discuss the role which the Ing-a-mo Association might play in the community in the last chapter of this report.

The Advisory Committee is an elected body and cannot be considered a voluntary association in the same way as the Ing-a-mo Association can be. It will be more convenient and appropriate to deal with the questions of ethnic integration and native representation in this committee in the chapter on community decision-making.

Considering the criteria of length of residence, it becomes apparent that the orientation of some of the white-dominated local organizations is modified by the participation of permanent white residents ("new northerners"). Small groups such as the YWCA Committee, the Town Planning Committee, and the Clean-up Committee, each include two local whites as members; while in the Home and School Association local whites represent 20% of the total membership, 10% in the Community Association, and 25% in the Lions' Club. The "Co-op" definitely has a local orientation, with 20% white permanent residents in addition to its majority of native members. The Advisory Committee with 35%, and Ing-a-mo with 28% local white members are similar.

The main features of the formal social life of Inuvik as seen in the voluntary associations can be summed up as follows:

A multiplicity of associations exists, corresponding to the multiplicity of interests in a heterogeneous population. A small group of whites orientated toward "southern middle-class values" keep these associations going and dominate them.

Several associations, once largely "native", are now dominated by the white population. Some of today's "native-orientated" organizations are under the same threat. The participation of the native population in the formal social life of the town is marginal and limited to a few individuals. Therefore, voluntary associations do not seem to be achieving much social integration between non-permanent whites and natives, except in a few youth and sports groups. On the other hand, a small number of "locally orientated" associations are working towards the integration of all permanent citizens of the town, white or native. To return to the question of the "over-organization" of

Inuvik, we may conclude that the town as a whole can hardly be said to be "over-organized", given its heterogeneity and multiplicity of population elements, as well as the fact that a large segment of the population remains practically untouched by voluntary group activity. On the other hand, one segment of the southern white non-permanent population shows definite signs of over-organization.

INFORMAL SOCIAL LIFE

Three sectors of informal social life can be distinguished:

- (1) An area of social interaction among whites where natives are not included; i.e. exclusively white social interaction.
- (2) White and native social interaction.
- (3) Exclusively native social life.

Each must be analyzed separately.

(1) Exclusively White Social Interaction

The social activities included in this category are characteristic of a southern middle-class suburban society whose basic structural units are the socio-economic stratum and the occupational clique. People involved in this type of social life are the transient whites residing in the crown-housing area of town.

From our findings, we can draw the following picture of this life. Many social events are organized by government departmental social committees (each department has its own), and are therefore usually restricted to the employees of a given department. Thus the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources organizes an annual Christmas party for its employees' children; Northern Canada Power Commission an annual picnic; and so on. A very frequent departmental event is the farewell dance or party put up for a departing member. Such an event is most frequently held in the Royal Canadian Legion Hall, the Mackenzie Hotel, the Nurses' Residence, or the Royal Canadian Navy Mess. The greatest number of "departmental" social events is held by the Royal Canadian Navy, which is the most self-contained of all occupational groups.

The outstanding feature of such events is the importance of rank in structuring the attending groups, as would be expected in the Navy. There also appeared to be quite frequent social interaction between the corresponding rank groups in the Navy and the R.C.M.P. "Departmental" events are sometimes open to the public. When they are, the choice of the guests appears to be made on the basis of socio-economic status. We were told that when the National Health and Welfare group opens a social event to non-hospital staff members, a limited number of tickets is handed out by doctors to Naval Officers and individuals of high socio-economic status. The Naval Station, similarly, usually opens its social events to town people with a suitable status. The nurses and the teachers appear to be very self-contained social groups based on occupation.

Non-departmental parties are often held in homes in the crown-housing area. Apparently, during the Christmas period, there is an open party in one or another of the detached houses of Hill Road every evening, and the same group attends every party. Spontaneous and less elaborate parties are held in the apartments, but we obtained little information about them except that they do not seem to involve many people from the detached houses of the serviced area. A very frequent type of event - at least in the sophisticated area of Hill Road and Camsell Place - is the children's birthday party. A study of guest lists for a few of these popular social events tended to corroborate our other findings: young guests tend to be recruited along the lines of their parents' socio-economic status and departmental affiliation. Among the women of Hill Road, the informal afternoon coffee break and the more formal afternoon tea are very popular. Here again, associations tend to be established along husbands' occupation and social position. Very little (if any) social interaction appears to take place between women of Hill Road and those of the apartments across Mackenzie Road. We obtained very little information about visiting patterns among women residing in the row-house area, except that informal visiting between neighbours does not seem very popular and interaction seems to take place largely along departmental lines there as well.

The only social events involving white people of all residential areas about which we heard were the "Legion" dances, open to members and their guests (Quite a number of white permanent residents are members). Although

these dances are not so rigidly structured along class and occupational lines as other white activities described above, they do not appear to involve many of the senior government officials (who are not usually Legion members) but rather other civil servants and local businessmen. They always involve a considerable proportion of Naval and Police personnel.

(2) White and Native Social Interaction

In this section we shall discuss not only the area of effective and real interaction between ethnic groups, but also "theoretical" interaction, or events and circumstances where interaction is physically possible but where it does not necessarily take place.

There are many instances in Inuvik's social life where both native and white individuals participate in a common activity without any form of social interaction across ethnic lines. The only contact between the two groups at such times is a simultaneous presence in a given place. This seems to be the case when official receptions are given for important "outside" visitors, if we can judge by the two such events we attended during the summer. In both instances (an evening reception in honour of members of the Territorial Council, and a banquet in honour of a Soviet Scientists' delegation), natives formed a small minority and tended to form small marginal groups completely withdrawn from larger circles of interaction. None of the town's white citizens broke into these isolated groups. The same thing occurred when a group of Eskimos were invited by the whites to give a drum-dancing exhibition for "outside" visitors. The Eskimo dancers retreated to the doorstep of the hall after each dance.

We observed a type of clerk-customer relationship at two public fairs which the Lions' Club organized during the summer. These events were attended mainly by natives of all ages; they especially enjoy gambling games. The social interaction between ethnic groups was limited; natives moved about in front of the gambling booths while whites were behind the counters. The relationship between groups was restricted to the "business-like" relationship existing between a clerk and his customers.

An obvious physical separation between the two ethnic groups is characteristic of most events attended by natives and whites. At the weekly bingo game held in the Roman Catholic Rectory Hall, whites occupy the front tables and natives occupy the back section of the hall. If one table has to be shared, the whites occupy one end and the natives the other. At baseball games, natives take over one of the two stands, while the other is occupied solely by white spectators. A few whites do not conform to the pattern and sit in the "native stand", but they invariably occupy the lowest rows while the natives keep to the higher rows. A similar tendency was noted at the movie theatre; natives tend to sit in the side sections and whites to occupy the central one. At the Catholic and Anglican Churches natives generally sit in the back benches; whites, closer to the altar.

Ethnic separation is especially obvious in public drinking patterns. The cocktail lounge of the local hotel is patronized by whites, and the beer parlour (where beer is ten cents cheaper per bottle) by natives. We saw some exceptions to this pattern when white transient workers preferred to drink in the beer parlour, or when a few young natives felt they could afford the luxury of hard liquor which is not available in the beer parlour, or when a group of native beer-drinkers could not find a place to sit in the beer parlour.

Open dances at the Legion Hall provide an opportunity for everybody in town to enjoy a lively, noisy evening of dancing, where cheaper drinks are available than at the hotel. These dances are attended by fairly large groups of native adults and by large groups of whites. At the three or four such dances we attended during the summer, a common pattern was for both groups to gather separately around their own tables (with a tendency for natives to occupy tables at both ends of the hall) and to dance among themselves. Occasionally a white man asked a native girl to dance, but in general very little intermingling took place. The same thing happened at teenage dances organized by the Teen Town Social Club. These dances were attended by a smaller number of people: high school students of both sexes and ethnic groups, and young single Navy men. We attended two such dances and noted the separation between sexes and ethnic groups at the beginning of the evening. Native girls gathered around the closest table to the door, and native boys sat on a row of chairs along a wall close to the door and around a table at the far end of the hall. White boys and girls occupied the more central tables. The few native boys who danced did so with native girls, and uninvited native girls danced together. White boys and their white partners did not miss a dance. Later on in the evening a little intermixing took place, when a few attractive and popular native girls were invited by "Navy boys" to dance and sit with them, and a few attractive Métis boys invited white girls to dance.

The social event providing the greatest opportunity for mixing between ethnic groups was the recurrent Saturday night public dance held in Peffer's Recreation Hall. This was attended by a great number of people of all ages and groups who mixed quite freely and was characterized by modern teenage dances, with an occasional square dance or waltz.

Although we could not directly observe it, we were told by local people that the same atmosphere is characteristic of most dances held in the winter, the season of intense social activity. Good intermixing was reported to have been prevalent at old-time dances which a group of local women put on in the school and also at those the Anglican Church ran in the Anglican hall.

High-school students have friendly, informal relations regardless of ethnic status. They can be together at the hotel café, on the street, on the church steps after Sunday mass, and in the movie theatre lobby. In the school itself, except for a few "sophisticated" white girls, friendships are established regardless of ethnic lines, and "steady" relationships sometimes exist between teenage students of different ethnic groups.

Interethnic courtship and sexual relationships follow definite patterns. Sophisticated native girls appear to look for "romantic" love; single Navy men seem frequently to seek a more exploitative type of relationship. Other native girls were reported to have spent an alcoholic evening and then the night with transient men of any category.

We made systematic observations on the interaction between primary school children of different ethnic backgrounds in the school play yards at recess time. The informal organization of games not only preserved separation along religious lines but also did not, generally, cross over ethnic barriers, although the situation slightly differed from group to group. In the Anglican girls' yard, the composition of small play groups showed almost total ethnic separation. White and Eskimo girls had their own separate games. In the Catholic girls' yard, this was not so sharply evident. A few playing and chatting circles included White, Indian, and Métis girls. Boys' groups appeared to be more elastic, but some games were favoured by the white boys, while native boys preferred others.

During the summer, one-week leadership courses were given to some twenty-five playground leaders, seven of whom were natives. Although no direct observation was possible, these courses appear to have achieved a good deal in establishing understanding across ethnic lines. Organizers reported general improvement in the relationships between white and native youngsters during the courses.

(3) Exclusively Native Social Life

Few data pertaining to this sector of social life were obtained. We would have required much more time than what we could afford in our three-months' stay to collect reliable information.

Informal social life among the native people of Inuvik involves night-long drinking parties and poker games in houses of the unserved area, religious interaction at Pentecostal services, informal visits, and sessions of berry-picking among housewives.

Surface indications suggested that a deeper study of native informal social life might reveal less homogeneity than we have tended to suggest, in what we have called broadly the "native group", and that within this large group, sub-groups tend to be established along definite lines such as kinship and place of origin.

* * * * *

In summary, it appeared that generally speaking neither voluntary associations nor unorganized social events are accomplishing integration between the white and the native sectors of the town's population. A fundamental dichotomy, based on ethnicity, exists in both formal and informal social life. The only instances of a beginning of real integration and social interaction can be credited to the new generation of high school students.

CHAPTER III

POWER AND LEADERSHIP

Inuvik, as a government administrative town, is dominated by agents of Euro-Canadian society. Positions of administrative power and leadership are held by southern Canadian whites. This study is concerned with structures of power and leadership outside the sphere of government administration, as they affect problems of integrating the native people into Euro-Canadian society. It is also concerned with the development of native leadership.

The Distribution of Power Within Voluntary Associations

A general indication of leadership in local associations is shown in Table VI. This gives a breakdown, by length of residence and by ethnicity, of leadership offices in 37 of the 48 associations for which we had data. For cases such as the Y.W.C.A. Committee or the Advisory Committee, where the association is composed of a small number of elected or appointed officers all holding executive positions, the numbers shown represent the individuals who are the real leaders in the group.

Table VI. Distribution by Residence and Ethnicity of Leadership Offices Within Local Associations

Association	Total No. of Offices	By Residence		By Ethnicity	
		Transients	Locals	Whites	Natives
Vestry Committee	12	9	3	10	2
Women Auxilliary	6	6	0	6	0
Holy Name Society	6	4	2	5	1
Catholic Women's League	12	11	1	10	2
Relief Society	3	3	0	3	0
Advisory Committee	2	0	2	1	1
Clean-up Committee	2	2	0	2	0
Voluntary Fire Brigade	7	7	0	7	0
Library and Museum Society	3	2	1	2	1
Y.W.C.A. Committee	1	0	1	1	0
Home and School Assoc.	4	3	1	3	1
Pre-School Association	4	3	1	3	1
Women's Study Group	2	2	0	2	0
Stefansson Science Club	3	2	1	3	0
Women's Institute	3	0	3	0	3
Lion's Club	11	7	4	11	0
Mother's Group	12	11	1	12	0
Royal Canadian Legion	5	4	1	5	0
Cadet Corps	1	1	0	1	0
Innuvit Housing Co-op	5	0	5	1	4
Chamber of Commerce	3	1	2	3	0
Civil Service Assoc.	3	3	0	3	0
Student's Union	2	1	1	2	0
Inuvik Community Assoc.	10	8	2	9	1
Ing-a-mo Association	4	1	3	2	2
Playground Committee	2	2	0	2	0
Chess Club	1	1	0	1	0
Drama Club	5	5	0	5	0

Table VI. Distribution by Residence and Ethnicity of Leadership Offices Within Local Associations (Cont'd)

Association	Total No. of Offices	By Residence		By Ethnicity	
		Transients	Locals	Whites	Natives
Teen Town	6	4	2	4	2
Scouts and Cubs	20	18	2	18	2
Guides and Brownies	21	15	6	17	4
Inuvik Curling Club	4	3	1	4	0
Basketball Club	2	2	0	2	0
Badminton Club	3	2	1	3	0
Boxing Club	6	5	1	6	0
Weight-lifting Club	1	1	0	1	0
Ski Club	8	6	2	7	1

Of the 207 leadership offices considered, 178 were held by whites. Natives held 29, 14% of the total available offices in the 37 organizations studied. Some 21 associations with all-white membership, (e.g. Lions' Club, Mothers' Group) or predominately white membership, (e.g. Voluntary Fire Brigade, Women's Auxiliary) had all-white committees. Natives held offices in 12 associations where the majority of offices were held by whites. Three of these associations had a predominantly native membership (Scouts and Cubs, Guides and Brownies, Ski Club.) Two organizations (Ing-a-mo and the Advisory Committee) had executive committees with equal numbers of whites and natives. Two (the Innuvit Housing Co-op and the Women's Institute) had predominantly or completely native executive committees.

The role played by the white members of the community who had established or intended to establish permanent residency in Inuvik should be noted here. Of the 37 groups studied, there were only 12 where neither natives nor "permanent" whites occupied executive offices. Local people held offices in 18 associations dominated by transient leaders. Three associations had a majority of local executives, and four were headed exclusively by them.

In summary, for the most part whites held the formal leadership offices of the various local voluntary associations. A relatively small number of offices (14%) were held by natives, but some others (10%) were held by permanent white residents, thus reducing the influence of transient whites in local associations. In most groups, however, transient whites, with 76% of the total number of leadership offices, appeared dominant.

Such an analysis of leadership, in quantitative terms only, is incomplete. A fuller understanding can be obtained through a qualitative description of the leadership in a few of the more important associations in town.

The Dynamics of Leadership Within Voluntary Associations

As we have noted, a native leadership emerged after the establishment of the *Home and School Association*. Within two years this leadership withdrew and then transferred itself to the newly created Inuvik Community Association. A second withdrawal of native leaders from the Community Association took place after another interval.

In 1956, when the Home and School Association was organized in Inuvik, the resident population was almost entirely native, and local leaders directed the association. Toward the end of the initial "construction" phase, relatively large numbers of transient whites arrived, and the association admitted a large number of new white members, but still retained its original local leadership for a while. In September, 1959, however, many new teachers were brought in to open the big new Federal School, and a shift of power took place within the association. From then on, newly arrived whites assumed executive positions previously held by natives, who withdrew from the organization. Two former Home and School leaders continued to occupy "second-rank" offices at intervals, and with a few other native persons, played minor roles in the leadership of the newly created *Community Association* for three or four years. Today, most of these former leaders are not involved in local matters, although recently a young Eskimo with obvious leadership qualities became president of the Home and School Association, while the October I.C.A. general meeting elected two local persons to the Board of Directors. These latter events show promise, but it is too soon to tell whether they indicate a trend.

The Women's Institute had almost always operated under the leadership of a middle-aged Indian Métis woman with a strong personality. She was responsible for organizing the group (with guidance from an outside counsellor), and for promoting interest among native women in the group's activities. Since the founding of the society she had always held an important official position. A year ago, she decided she would resign from the president's office to encourage the emergence of new leaders. This did not work, and she felt that her leadership, even though informal, was still necessary to prevent collapse of the organization.

In the *Women's Auxiliary*, the Anglican minister's wife made a similar attempt to encourage the emergence of native leaders two years ago by resigning from the president's office, intending to transfer leadership of the group to a native woman. She had difficulty in persuading a promising local woman to run for the presidency, but this woman finally agreed, and was elected by acclamation. The experiment was unsatisfactory, for although the new president had always previously appeared to have leadership qualities, she proved to be very insecure as a president. After guiding and directing the new president for a year, the minister's wife returned to the presidency of the group.

Although the *Cross-Country Ski Club* actually operates under white leadership, it is attempting to develop a group of native leaders as ski instructors. The present leaders feel that the organization is not likely to persist unless it enjoys permanent, steady leadership, which can be supplied only by local individuals. It is too soon to see what will come of this, but it is obvious that the white leaders are attempting to act as catalysts, and that they see their role as temporary.

The InnuIt Housing Co-operative does show real Eskimo leadership. The preliminary efforts which preceded the organization of a housing co-operative in Inuvik appear to have been directed by a sixty-year old Alaskan Eskimo, the religious leader of an Eskimo revivalistic group. Under the patronage of Northern Affairs' Industrial Division, this man attended a Co-operative Conference held in Frobisher Bay in March, 1963, and organized a group on his return. During the summer of 1963, houses for six Eskimo members were shipped in from Edmonton and erected. This same man has been president of the Co-operative ever since and has proved to be a competent organizer and leader. A good deal of background guidance and assistance has come from interested local officials. By the summer of 1965, the Co-op was no longer the completely Eskimo group it had been originally, for a considerable number of whites had joined it. Some of these were very interested in the Co-op's activities and future. The official (and real) leadership position was still held by the Co-op's official initiator, who acted with assistance of a few efficient and reliable younger Eskimos. A white secretary provided technical assistance and discreet guidance for the association. He appeared to be trying to retain the group's fundamental orientation and to analyze its new trend and its activities. If the Eskimo members do not become aware that the inclusion of local white members may shift the positions of influence within the group, the Co-op will soon have to face the threat of a "shift of power" much like that which took place within the Home and School Association.

Another problem which has now become clear is the difference in fluency in English between the whites and Eskimos. This difference was not apparent when the group was almost entirely Eskimo and Indian, but with whites and Eskimos around a meeting table, it has become a major problem as far as leadership is concerned. One solution which has been suggested is to hold the meeting in the first language of the majority of those attending.

The organizing of the *Advisory Committee* illustrated the delicate position of the community development promoter when this role conflicted with his administrative duties. The initiator of the idea of an Inuvik Advisory Committee was the local Regional Administrator, a "new northerner" dedicated to the solution of local problems and to community development. Because of his administrative position, he tried to promote the idea of the local Committee, not through acting openly as a leader, but by exerting influence through local leaders and individuals. At first decisions were left to a steering committee, and the organizing of an election was assigned to permanent residents of the town. The Regional Administrator's main function in this matter was to provide administrative assistance. After the Advisory Committee of 20 elected members was organized and holding regular meetings, the Administrator continued to provide "low-key" leadership as Chairman. He delegated many responsibilities to a local woman who acted as Assistant Chairman, the official delegate of the group, and an intermediary between the group and the population of the unserved area of the town.

The leadership situation within the very recently formed *Ing-a-mo Association* is ambiguous, for there is little correspondence between official and real leadership in this group. It would appear that the "traditional" leader elected to the principal office occupies a symbolic rather than a real position of leadership.

A few Indians, formerly resident in Aklavik, led the preliminary discussion in the community from which originated the idea of a "native hall" and later the forming of the Ing-a-mo Association. The principal was a Loucheux who had been an elected Indian leader for a number of years in Aklavik, and who had been involved in the erection of a native hall there. We were told that he gathered native people at his home in order to find out their feelings about getting a native hall for Inuvik. He made a public speech at a general meeting of the Community Association to present the project to the community at large, but the idea was not acted upon. A white man who had previous leadership experience in the Apex Hill Community Association in Frobisher Bay (Honigmann 1965) then adopted the project. In conjunction with a permanent white resident married to an Indian woman, he decided to organize the town's native population independently to obtain a hall. Members were recruited rapidly for the new group, and the association was organized under the leadership of its white initiator. When the first election took place, the Loucheux leader, unaware of the existence and aims of the Ingo-a-mo group, was invited to attend the meeting. The eighteen members elected him president by acclamation after the white leader had nominated him. The latter, the real leader of the group, who identifies himself with the native population, was elected vice-president. He has assumed all responsibilities and leadership functions within the group. The elected president has been inactive and thus has encouraged the vice-president to act as internal organizer as well as spokesman and representative for the group.

The vice-president was aware that the situation was not entirely fair to the president of the association, who had been made principal officer in name only. But it could not be otherwise, he felt, for before the new association was fully organized it was faced with a series of issues that required quick-acting and competitive leadership, which native persons could not provide without more training.

The association was supposed to hold the election of a full executive committee on August 22, 1965, but the vice-president was out of town, and the president would not act without him.

A different process was noted in the case of *Scouts and Cubs Commission*. Here, 18 whites led a group of 186 boys. There was a need for leaders who would take boys on camping trips and give them some training in outdoor life. Two Eskimos in their thirties volunteered, one of whom is an active member of the Housing Co-op, and the other a man who could certainly be included in the group we have called the "local elite". They have since regularly taken small groups of native and white boys out on the river or on the trapline, teaching them to handle dogs, to set a trap, to put up a tent, and to do other such things. These two Eskimos have proved to be extraordinarily good scout leaders, showing tolerance and firmness in good balance. They both enjoy this role and take it very seriously.

Real vs. Symbolic Native Leaders

As previously observed, some understanding of the structure of the community can be gained by studying the nature of the "leadership" roles of some native persons frequently regarded as social leaders. A survival of an older pattern is evident in the case of the aforementioned Loucheux president of Ing-a-mo. A man in late middle-age, he approximates closely to the stereotype of the "Indian spokesman", developed through interaction with the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church at the period of the first acculturative contacts, and later perpetuated by the Indian Affairs Branch. His role has always involved acting as official Indian representative and spokesman. He was elected leader of an Indian band some ten years ago, and has been sent outside twice to "represent" the Indian people. As a result, he has become known to many Indians in the Mackenzie District. This public notice led to his election to the Indian Advisory Council of the Aklavik Indian Agency. On many occasions he has served as official interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Co., the R.C.M. Police, the Indian Agent, and for court proceedings. The local prestige which he enjoys derives from his speaking ability. He has had a relatively good formal education and considerable practice in interpreting. He gives a weekly radio program in Loucheux. He is so polished a spokesman, that the Inuvik Indians often regard him as the only one who can talk for them. In an instance we observed, he spoke eloquently before a predominantly white assembly at an I.C.A. general meeting in an attempt to promote the idea of a native hall for the community. But the role of spokesman appears to represent the totality of his participation in public affairs. Within the formal group where he held office, he seemed to be almost exclusively a symbol of the "native cultural fact". In spite of apparently high self-esteem, his prestige among the local Indians has dropped because of his drinking habits. He seems to have a limited impact on the community as a whole, or on any non-Indian segment of the town population.

The Eskimo equivalent of this Indian spokesman is an Alaskan who has also been frequently used as a representative Eskimo to meet visiting officials. He has been sent outside as a representative for the Eskimos, and he occasionally serves as interpreter and gains prestige from his ability to cope with the white man on his own terms. He cannot be called a community-wide leader, for his activities and impact are restricted to two limited spheres of the town's life: the Pentecostal Church of which he is a minister, and the Housing Co-operative of which he is president. He is looked up to by the Eskimo members of the Pentecostal Church, a great proportion of whom are also Co-op house owners. He could thus be said to have a limited and quite definite following as a religious leader and Co-op official, but his impact on the local community does not extend much beyond those bounds.

Any survey of local leaders must make mention of a Métis woman who has been involved in public affairs ever since the beginning of the town of Inuvik. She speaks well and has a strong personality. Her importance as a local leader has constantly fluctuated and evolved with the growth and change of the town. Before the time of "big construction" in Inuvik, she held important offices in local associations and acted as main "mover" in the community, which was then almost entirely native. With the influx of large numbers of transient whites, she withdrew from the public stage. When she was again involved later, she seemed constantly to try to withdraw but always ended up either holding an official position or ensuring real leadership within it.

Since she has a number of useful contacts in administrative and political circles, she constantly acts as an intermediary between the local community and outside agents. She has been sent "outside" to conferences and congresses. Her social and political involvement has taken a new direction with the emergence of the Advisory Council. She stated that she did not wish to participate in the Community Association any more; she felt that many deceptive actions have been encountered by the local people in dealing with transient whites in its affairs.

A young Eskimo belonging to the "local elite" should also be mentioned. He has successfully adapted to the white man's way of life, while preserving at least a sentimental attachment for Eskimo values. He may be the type of individual on whom the local community will eventually have to rely for secondary leaders. He possesses all the characteristics of the "good citizen" and of the reliable individual whom everyone respects and holds in high esteem and is proving to be a man quite capable of expressing personal opinions. He is becoming more and more involved in local associations. He has recently become an I.C.A. Director, and is a dedicated scout leader and an active executive member of the Housing Co-op, but he lacks the formal education necessary to deal with Euro-Canadian society. He also seems to lack any great ambition to become a leader.

A young Eskimo Co-op member who was elected president of the Home and School Association might possibly have leadership qualities, but because of his drinking habits, he is losing the prestige he used to enjoy. A young Eskimo scout leader, who has functioned as a channel of communication between whites and natives, also shows potential leadership.

Factors Promoting and Impeding The Emergence of Native Leaders

Native persons regarded locally as real or potential representatives of a native group have achieved this position in several ways. When they gain it through acting as an interpreter, through economic success, or through religious group leadership, we can note a tendency for such leaders to remain mere "fronts". On the other hand, voluntary associations appear to produce leaders who are more likely to exert community wide influence and to be capable of establishing communication in a much more widely inclusive social milieu.

Our observations and analysis indicate that certain important factors impede the emergence of true community-wide leadership among the native people in Inuvik. These are:

- (i) The heterogeneity of the native population. This makes the acceptance and recognition of an individual by the whole group difficult and is the reason that most of the leaders we have mentioned are supported by partisans recruited from specific segments of the native population;
- (ii) the tendency for the local administration to select native individuals as ethnic representatives to talk to visiting officials, and to send them "outside" on "representational" assignments. This has the serious consequence of creating mere "fronts" or symbols;
- (iii) the lack of education and of general information characteristic of most adults of the middle-aged generation. This usually results in the incapacity of native persons to deal with whites on an equal basis in an environment dominated by white values;

(iv) the usurpation of local leadership functions by outside individuals, either unconsciously or because the existing form of native leadership is regarded as inadequate.

Generalizing, we could say that Inuvik has not yet produced the type of native leader needed to provide real direction and focus for social action in the community, principally because offices in local associations are monopolized by whites. Too, the social system has so far produced only stereotypes of traditional leaders, who for the most part, are simply passive spokesmen and representatives.

AN INTRODUCTION TO LOCAL POLITICS: THE COMMUNITY CENTRE ISSUE

In October 1961, the directors of the Inuvik Community Association felt the need of a community centre – a hall, an arena or an auditorium – that could be used by all organizations in town for recreational purposes. The idea grew in 1962. Plans for such a centre were submitted to, and approved by, the I.C.A. A building fund was set up, and the Council of the Northwest Territories was approached for financial support for construction. It was believed that the territorial government could grant up to \$50,000 to a community every five years, provided that the community matched the territorial grant. The Commissioner's reply came in May 1963: the Inuvik Community Association was not financially strong enough to contribute 50% of the cost of the building, and the town had enough recreational facilities as it was. It was suggested that further investigation be made to discover alternative ways of furthering the project.

A little later, a new Curling Club executive was elected. This group advanced the idea of building an extension to the existing curling rink. Such an extension could function as a community centre; its cost was estimated at \$35,000. In late 1963 or early 1964, new building plans were drawn and again submitted to the Territorial Council. In November 1964, a special meeting took place of members of the Council, the I.C.A. Board of Directors, and a recently appointed Building Committee. At this meeting the Commissioner announced that the application for a grant for the construction of a community centre in Inuvik did not meet Council requirements, and that the town could not receive a grant until the application was properly made and the territorial grant matched by the community.

After this, the directors of the Community Association began to doubt the feasibility of building an addition to the curling rink, since they felt there was no general consensus of opinion in the community concerning the type of building which should be erected as a community centre. They called a special general meeting to find out the feelings of the community.

In the meantime, a small group of native people (mostly Indians who had previously lived in Aklavik) had come to feel that a "native hall" was needed in Inuvik. They wanted a place similar, in principle and in operation, to the one which had been built in Aklavik. This building had provided recreational facilities and had been a place for movies and for such occasions as old-time dances, Eskimo drum dances, and wedding receptions. This sense of need derived from the fact that the only places which regularly provided public recreational facilities were commercial. The day before the I.C.A. special meeting, an Indian community member met with a small group of Indians and Eskimos at his house, in order to gauge the strength of local opinion concerning the necessity for doing something about a "native hall." It was decided that one of those present would act as spokesman at the special general meeting the next day and present their project.

The special general meeting was held in the conference room of the Research Laboratory on February 8, 1965. Six projects were proposed and a vote was called. The projects, in order of decreasing popularity, were as follows:

1. Combined community centre and ice arena (\$100,000 estimated cost).
2. Covered ice area (\$50,000 estimated cost).
3. Combined museum and library (\$12,000 estimated cost).
4. Curling rink addition (\$50,000 estimated cost).
5. Native hall (\$20,000 estimated cost).
6. Separate community centre (\$75,000 estimated cost).

The "community centre with arena" project was decided upon as the one for which funds should be raised.

A week after this meeting, two committees were formed on a motion of the I.C.A. Directors:

1. A Building Committee whose duties were to investigate problems of land, location, and type of building;
2. A Finance Committee to investigate costs and the ways of raising money to match the territorial grant.

Here we should note the events which led to the Community Association's assumption of responsibility for a local Centennial project. In January 1965, when a representative of the government's Centennial Program had visited Inuvik and had spoken to the Lions' Club, he had mentioned the availability of centennial grants for communities. Following this, a director of the Inuvik Community Association had suggested to the chairman of the Advisory Committee that the Advisory Committee take the matter in hand. The Advisory Committee did not accept this responsibility but delegated it to the Inuvik Community Association which was to act as the co-ordinating body. The Inuvik Community Association Directors then appointed one of their members to assume responsibility for the local Centennial project.

Information from the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories showed that the total territorial centennial program fund of \$72,000 was to be split up among at least four and possibly six northern communities. Grants could be used for permanent structures of a lasting nature, with preference being given to cultural or historical projects. Further, per capita grants of \$2.00 were available, "provided a matching \$1.00 per head came from the community". The Commissioner also advised that an official Centennial Committee representative of the community had to be formed. Its function would be either to decide which project should be recommended as a centennial project or to suggest a way by which the community should make the decision, and eventually to present a recommendation to the Territorial Government, which in turn would seek the approval of the Federal Government.

A first public meeting was held at the Research Laboratory on July 21. Various organizations in town had been asked to present centennial projects, but the choice between two evolved as the real issue. The Library and Museum Society, citing the inadequacy of existing library facilities in town, proposed a combined library and museum to cost \$25,000, which the Society itself would operate in co-operation with the Community Association. The Ing-a-mo Association, which was formed for the purpose of obtaining a hall that would allow the organization of recreational and cultural activities for the native population, also intended to make a proposal. But its policy had not been well defined, and its two leaders could not agree on the proposal to be made. The public meeting decided that the Ing-a-mo group should get its membership together within the following ten days, and come up with a precise, definite project at the next public meeting to be held on August 5.

At this second meeting on August 5, the Ing-a-mo Association proposed its project: a community hall costing \$18,000 similar to what the Indian spokesman had proposed six months earlier. A Centennial Committee was formed, with 18 members representing 16 of the town's voluntary associations.

This committee held a meeting on August 10, attended by the Centennial officer for the Northwest Territories to decide on the way by which the final decision would be made between two proposed projects for the Inuvik Centennial Project. It was decided that the decision would be made by the community as a whole through a referendum. A public meeting would be held in the school auditorium at 8:00 p.m., and a thirty-minute presentation for each of the projects could be made. This was to be followed by a vote by secret ballot. An advanced poll was to be organized for the same day to last from 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. The age limit for voting eligibility was to be 18. The chairman was to decide the date and to announce it at least thirty days before.

The chairman fixed the date for the 15th of September. For several days beforehand, the local radio station broadcast the chairman's recorded announcement many times a day. Partisans of both projects began to prepare for the big event. The Library and Museum Society distributed publicity pamphlets through the mail and contacted many eventual supporters by telephone. Ing-a-mo Association supporters did some campaigning through personal contacts. The Ing-a-mo leader was out of town for the two weeks preceding the referendum, and during his absence little was done by the association to publicize its project. Eight days before the vote, the local radio station broadcast a debate between two leaders of the Library and Museum Society (both women), and two active members of the Ing-a-mo Association (both men), to present the case for each of the two projects.

Two days before the election, the leader of the Ing-a-mo Association returned, and a meeting of Ing-a-mo was called to organize a campaign in the unserved area of town and to take action to bring the native population to vote on the day of the referendum. Only ten members turned out, and another meeting was organized for the following day at a member's house. After being given instructions by their leader, a fair number of members went from house to house in the unserved area of town, delivering pamphlets, explaining the issue, and inquiring if transportation to the voting place would be needed.

The day of the vote was one of considerable excitement in the town. The Ing-a-mo organizers took the day off from their jobs and worked all day to bring people to the polling station by car. They covered the bar and the unserviced area of town, trying to get as many people as possible to vote. A leader of the Library and Museum Society spent most of the day on the sidewalk buttonholing people who went by and sending as many as she could to the polling station. Voters came steadily from 9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. When the poll was closed at 9:00 p.m., a small group of people went to the school auditorium for the public meeting at which presentations by supporters of both projects were to be made. But it was soon realized that everybody who intended to vote had done so during the advanced poll and that there was no need for any more campaigning. The recording officers then counted the votes in the presence of the chairman and the representatives of the two groups. The result was 250 votes for the library and museum and 217 for the community hall.

If the project receives the approval of both the Territorial and the Federal Governments, this means that a combined library and museum will be built in Inuvik for 1967, and the Ing-a-mo Association will have to find other ways of meeting its needs for a hall.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS OF COMMUNITY DECISION-MAKING

Before attempting to describe and analyze the process of community decision-making in Inuvik, we must make clear what we mean by "community decisions" in this study. In general, we adopt Peter Rossi's definition (Rossi, 1956). He defines a community decision as "a choice among several modes of action which is made by an authoritative group within the community, whose goals are the change or maintenance of community-wide institutions or facilities". Hence, community decisions include those made by voluntary associations about community matters, by a town council about municipal affairs, or by a town's population when it votes on a local issue. It excludes all decisions taken by outside agencies (administrative decisions).

It must be pointed out that all community decisions do not have the same degree of impact on community affairs; thus we can distinguish different types on the basis of their "immediateness" and relative importance. The typology which we shall use distinguishes between primary, secondary, and tertiary decisions as well as between long-term and short-term ones. We call "primary" decisions those which are final and which do not lead to further decisions in the same line (for example, the decision taken by the Inuvik Curling Club to extend the curling rink). "Secondary" decisions, in our usage, are those which lead to a primary decision (for instance, the decision about the way of defining the type of extension to be built on the curling rink). "Tertiary" refers to the first step taken in a series of decisions leading to a primary decision (for example, a tertiary decision could bear on the way of forming the committee that will decide the type of construction to be added to the curling rink). These three types of decisions can be further classified as either long-term or short-term. A long-term decision is one with a lasting effect on the community.

During the summer of 1965, the town of Inuvik was faced with the necessity of making several important decisions. This provided us an opportunity of seeing the town in action with the residents deciding issues involving the population as a whole. We were fortunate in this, since the dynamics of decision-making were not evident from the written records. Valuable data pertaining to community decision-making were collected at three significant meetings held there. In addition, we attended numerous other meetings of various local organizations and studied the complete records of important community decision-making groups such as the Community Association, the Advisory Committee, and the Inuit Housing Co-op. For past meetings, we also used comments and reports from many informants.

The media of decision-making in Inuvik can be classified into three categories; public meetings, committees, and referendums.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

The public meetings which we attended were called by the Inuvik Community Association. The local radio station gave advance notice of them in English, and they took place in a building situated in the "central district" of town. At such meetings everybody in town was welcome.¹

The chairman of the I.C.A. or a chairman appointed by the I.C.A. presided. In general, rules of parliamentary procedure were used. In each case, the purpose of the meeting was to find out the majority opinion of the community about a special question, or to decide in what way the majority opinion of the community should be expressed.

In these public meetings, five characteristics emerged. These were: low public interest, a lack of popular representation, a racial difference in sophistication in dealing with the techniques of a meeting, lack of restraint, and lack of orderly procedure.

1) Low Popular Interest

Public meetings usually generate a very low interest in the town, if we can judge by the attendance at the few meetings for which attendance records were available. (See Table VII).

¹ We make no distinction here between true public meetings and I.C.A. general meetings. The number of I.C.A. members is very large and I.C.A. general meetings are sometimes attended by as many people as are public meetings; non-members are not excluded from I.C.A. general meetings.

Table VII. Approximate Total Attendance at Nine General Meetings

<u>Type of Meeting</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Approximate Total Attendance</u>
I.C.A. general meeting	Sept. 26, 1961	32
I.C.A. general meeting	May 21, 1963	20
I.C.A. general meeting	Sept. 30, 1964	17 (insufficient – meeting did not take place and had to be called again).
I.C.A. general meeting	Sept. 1964	50
I.C.A. general meeting (special)	Feb. 8, 1965	75
Public meeting called by a representative of I.C.A. acting as chairman "as above"	July 21, 1965	31
I.C.A. annual general meeting "as above"	August 5, 1965	49
		Number insufficient – meeting was postponed
	Oct. 1965	21
	Oct. 1965	

At these, the average attendance was approximately 37, or less than 4% of the town's adult population. We might add that, from what we observed in a few instances, meetings seemed to be attended always by the same small group of people.

2) Lack of Real Popular Representation

The most important problem evident at these meetings was "representation". The problem can best be clarified by asking the following question: Is the small group of predominantly white and transient people who attend a public meeting entitled to make primary decisions that concern the whole community?

Two opposed sets of attitudes were apparent at meetings, and were inevitably in confrontation. The first was that of most transient whites who did not even perceive the existence of such a problem, and who declared that primary decisions should be taken at any time by a vote at a public meeting. Such a meeting, they felt, was adequately representative of the wishes of the community, because:

- It was a general meeting of the local Community Association, which anybody could join by paying the required membership;
- it had been advertised on the radio; everybody knew about it, and should have been there if they were interested;
- it represented those people interested in community matters. The natives were not interested (because they never attended meetings) and there was no reason for them to participate in decisions.

Opposing this was the attitude of those (natives, permanent white residents, and some transient whites) who, wishing to promote local values, claimed that it was unfair for a small group to make a decision which involved the whole community because:

- The unserved area of town (all permanent residents) was not well represented at such meetings;
- it was not good for small groups to make decisions that would affect the entire community;
- it was not fair to make such decisions in the absence of persons who could probably not come to the public meeting because of working hours and the like;
- people of local origin, and those who have established their permanent homes in Inuvik, should have more weight in local decisions than transient people, for most of whom Inuvik is a place where they live for a few years, without any real concern for its development.

The people of this second group proposed the general referendum as a way of making community decisions. It was, they said, a way of allowing the entire community to participate in decision-making, or at least a way of opening the choice to a much greater number of people than would a vote taken by a limited assembly. Some of the more aggressive suggested that something should be done to eliminate as many transient individuals from the process of decision-making as possible.

All three public meetings studied were characterized by the expression of these conflicting attitudes. The second group usually voiced strong opposition to the first group to prevent primary decisions from being taken on the spot; this was not always successful. For example, the vote of February 8, 1965 (mentioned above) about the proposed community centre, was taken after a very long and rather hot discussion on voting procedures and problems of representation, with very explicit opposition coming from the second group. Nevertheless, it was considered as expressing the opinion of the community on the six proposed building projects. Though the vote was presented as a "vote of opinion", its issue was considered by the I.C.A. Board of Directors as a decision made by the community as a whole.

Similar factions were evident in less important decision-making situations. In one instance, a secondary decision had to be made at a public meeting, and even though the second group offered categorical but unorganized resistance to the first group, none of its motions was passed. The discussion focused on the procedure that should be followed in making the final decision about which project to adopt as a community centennial project. Of the ten people who actively participated in the debate, six insisted on the danger of hasty decisions taken within small groups, and expressed the opinion that the final decision should involve the greatest number of people possible. But when the assembly was asked to vote on a motion, and one of the six proposed that a public referendum be the means of taking the final decision, many people refrained from voting and only six or seven supported the motion, which was voted down.¹

In the two instances studied above the decisions which were made appeared to be determined by the fact that the first group described was more numerous than the second.

Some transient whites explain the native people's absence from meetings as a general lack of interest in public affairs, and evidence of a preference for the local tavern. From a sociological point of view, we noted the following factors:

- (a) A general feeling among the native people that transient whites dominated affairs and organizations in Inuvik and that no matter what the natives did, they would not receive much consideration. A statement very often heard both from natives and from local whites was: "All organizations in town are controlled and dominated by the whites."
- (b) The inability of a great number of native adults to follow and to participate in such meetings with interest and profit because of language limitations and lack of understanding of the form of a meeting. Natives' comments on meetings very often included a condemnation of the use of complicated English. They said, "We are not educated, we don't know those big words. We don't understand that high language they use. Why don't they use plain English?" We observed that few natives understood what was going on at meetings, and that when a vote was called, native persons present looked toward their white spokesman, expecting him to indicate how they should vote. On several occasions, after such meetings native people shrugged their shoulders and admitted that they were all mixed up and had not understood what was going on.
- (c) The fear of being unable to stand against oral competition and of being "talked down" and shamed by local whites. It appeared that among native people in Inuvik the whites had the reputation of being "loud mouths". A Métis informant said: "Such a white person, you can't talk him down." An Eskimo said: "The white man talks big; he uses bigger words than the native. The native can't talk back to him; that's why he doesn't come to the Community Association's meetings". When a native is "talked down" publicly, the whole local group, including both natives and local whites seems to feel shame and frustration. We were told that, at a meeting held last winter, which about eighty people attended, an Indian spokesman made an eloquent speech in fluent English to try to convince the assembly of the necessity for a native hall in town. After his speech was over, discussion started. The good points he had brought forward were torn apart by transient whites, and the discussion took on a harsh and emotional aspect. Most reports of this were exaggerated and many

¹ Because of inconsistency in meeting procedures, and lack of continuity from one meeting to another, a referendum was later reconsidered and this negative vote was revoked.

local people were emotionally involved; they said that the Indian had been "shut down", or that "time was not left for him to finish speaking", or that he was "almost kicked out". After this incident, the Indian spokesman attended a few meetings, but he no longer participated.

To sum up, the absence of native people at public meetings appeared to stem from an attitude of "withdrawal" (Honigmann, 1965) as a negative reaction to encountering difficulties, tensions, and conflicts. As described by Honigmann, this attitude is typical of Eskimos, but here it applies to Indians and Métis as well.

3) Difference in Sophistication

In a society with a loose social structure, where individuals rather than structure of tradition play a dominant part, (Honigmann, 1965), public meetings often lead to an open confrontation of personalities. The difference in sophistication and ability between local individuals and transients becomes clear in public. Many transients have had considerable previous experience in meetings, formal discussions, and in the art of influencing and manipulating an opponent. The natives in general have not.

To illustrate, at a meeting where the main point under discussion was the formation of a Centennial Committee, two factions confronted each other. The first was a group of transient whites who wanted the committee to be formed of representatives of the various associations in town, obviously to keep the natives in a minority on the committee. The second group wanted the committee to be formed of representatives nominated from the floor, with a theoretically equal chance for whites and natives to be nominated.

The second group offered steady opposition to the first one, and for a while the meeting stagnated with both groups holding firm. But finally, the second group's resistance was overcome when the leader of the first group proposed a compromise to the leader of the second, who accepted it.

4) Lack of Restraint

The meetings studied appeared to offer to both the groups we have defined an opportunity to release basic negative attitudes ordinarily concealed. Grievances were expressed, either openly and unpleasantly, or through skillful insinuation. As we recorded them, there were unpleasant hints about a "native hall", and about the lack of democracy in the local embryo town-council. In one instance, a rather harsh comment was aimed at the natives "who don't come to meetings because they would rather go to the bar", matched by an equally bitter remark that transients came to Inuvik "only for money". These attitudes and comments result in an emotional atmosphere which hinders effective progress at a meeting.

5) Lack of Orderly Procedure

Because of the few rules observed, public meetings tended to appear disorganized and chaotic. On occasion, they turned into noisy discussions where anyone spoke whenever he wished to and did not hesitate to carry the whole assembly beyond the point under discussion. This might present the advantage of allowing anybody to express his opinion, but it meant that the meetings were loaded with unnecessary discussion, argument, and confused issues, which slowed down the process of the meeting, and made the sessions much too long.

COMMITTEES

The term "committees" as used here refers to groups, usually with ten or fewer individuals, seldom with more than fifteen. Some of these groups were corporate, some were semi-corporate with defined periods of existence as groups, while others were merely "accidental" congregations. In Inuvik, three types of committees can be distinguished on the basis of their mode of formation: committees elected, appointed, or neither elected nor appointed.

1) Elected Committees

(a) Elected at public meetings:

The Inuvik Community Association's board of ten directors comes into this category. Five directors, with a two years' term of office, are elected each year at the annual meeting of the association. This board of directors holds regular meetings throughout the year, and deals with matters like financial assistance for recreational bodies in

town, the control of the curling rink operated by the Curling Club, the organization of an annual Winter Carnival, and the erection of a building that would serve as a community centre. The directing board of the I.C.A. does not itself make major primary decisions, which are left for discussion at the annual general meeting, or at special general meetings, but it makes quite a number of small-scale primary decisions. The main problems of this committee as a decision-making group are:

- (i) A general lack of interest in town in the Community Association and a low regard for the role of the "director" of the association. Too often, people were elected to the board because they were willing to accept a position that nobody else seemed to want.
- (ii) A lack of continuity within the membership of the board of directors. During the six years for which the I.C.A. has been organized, from September 1959 to September, 1965, 36 individuals were elected to the board of directors. Of these 14 had resigned before the end of their terms, 9 of them because they were leaving Inuvik. During that same period, a director's seat on the board was occupied by three different individuals in the same year, resulting in an inconsistency in policy and slowness in action.
- (iii) The very low participation of local individuals, particularly of native people.

Table VIII. Residence and Ethnicity of I.C.A. Directors Each Year Since 1959 (*)

Year	No. of Directors	Transient	Permanent	White	Native
1959	7	5	2	6	1
1960	12	9	3	11	1
1961	14	11	3	14	0
1962	13	8	5	11	2
1963	10	5	5	8	2
1964	15	11	4	12	3
1965	10	7	3	8	2

(*) This includes people elected both as regular directors at general meetings, and as replacements who occupied the seats of directors who resigned during a term of office.

During a period of 7 years, 47 individuals were directors in the I.C.A.; of these 13 were local, and 6 were natives. Nominations were recorded over 2 years: in October 1962, 6 of 12 individuals nominated to fill 5 seats were natives, and one was elected; in October 1965, 8 nominations were made to elect 6 directors, 3 local people being elected, of whom one was a native.

(b) **Elected by a Community-Wide Secret Vote**

The recently formed Advisory Committee comes into this category. It is a sort of "embryo town council". While its decisions have no legal significance, it makes recommendations to the administration. It possesses no legal executive power to apply its decisions. However, since this committee was the idea of an enlightened administrator, it appears to have a good deal of influence.

The basic idea underlying the creation of the Advisory Committee was that since the Northwest Territories is moving towards more self-government, the people who should take the most active part in the decision-making at the local level are those most likely to feel the long-term effects of decisions: in other words, the permanent residents. The election of representatives to the Advisory Committee was designed to avoid a heavy representation from the transient white population. In addition, three extra places were created later, so that nine "local" individuals actually obtained seats on the committee. Two candidates tied, and were thus both given seats. The initiator of the project acted as a non-elected chairman, and one individual was appointed to represent the "Tent Town" area because it was felt to be impossible to organize a vote in this area where people were very mobile. In each ward, the

runner-up was considered an alternate representative, i.e., he was called to sit on the committee whenever the elected representative could not attend a meeting.

Table IX. Composition of the Advisory Committee by Housing, Residence and Ethnicity

	Total	Serviced Area	Unserviced Area	Transient*	Local	White	Native
Elected Representative	10	3	7	2	8	6	4
Alternate Representative	8	3	5	3	5	5	3
Appointed Representative	2	0	2	0	2	1	1
TOTAL	20	6	14	5	15	12	8

*It is to be noted that the individuals included in this category are long-term residents.

Though there was a slightly greater number of whites than natives on the committee, the number of permanent residents living in the unserviced area of town ensured that the internal orientation of the Advisory Committee was thoroughly local and "northern". We observed two meetings of the Advisory Committee during the summer and little or no factionalism was evident.

2) Appointed Committees

A great number of appointed committees have been formed by the Community Association to serve specific purposes. Normally they have a short life. Such committees vary in their involvement in community decision-making. A "building committee" does not itself make decisions but, typically, submits a report likely to influence decisions to be taken by other bodies. Committees responsible for the organization of sports and other recreational activities make decisions for the whole of the community, but within the specific area of recreation. Nominating committees have an important indirect impact on community matters since they are partly responsible for the election of directors.

The Community Association's records contained information regarding twenty committees formed during the past six years. Table X gives the function of each committee, the date of its formation, and the composition of its membership by length of residence and ethnicity.

Table X. Function and Composition by Residence and Ethnicity of Twenty Committees Appointed Through the Inuvik Community Association.

Date	Committee	Function	No. of Members	Local	Transient	Native	White
20/5/59	Sports Day	Organize recreation	4	2	2	1	3
3/60	Carnival	"	8	4	4	3	5
3/60	Curling Bldg	Investigate plan for curling	4	4	0	2	2
4/7/60	Curling Rink	Initiate a Curling Club	5	1	4	0	5
19/9/60	Curling Com.	"	8	1	7	1	7
21/2/61	Other Members	"	4	1	3	0	4
21/2/61	Carnival	Organize recreation	11	4	7	1	10

**Table X. Function and Composition by Residence and Ethnicity of Twenty Committees
Appointed Through the Inuvik Community Association (Cont'd)**

Date	Committee	Function	No. of Members	Local	Transient	Native	White
23/5/61	Sports Day	"	4	1	3	1	3
23/5/61	Baseball	Initiate sports club	2	0	2	0	2
20/10/61	Concert	Organize cultural events	3	0	3	0	3
24/10/61	Community Centennial Committee	Investigate Community Centre	3	0	3	0	3
30/1/63	Carnival	Organize re-creation	12	7	5	4	8
16/2/64	Centennial Steering Com	Set up a centennial committee	4	3	1	1	3
23/2/63	Jamboree	Organize re-creation	10	6	4	5	5
30/9/64	Nominating Committee	Nominate Candidates	3	1	2	0	3
30/9/64	I.C.A. By-Laws Com.	Revise I.C.A.'s by-laws	4	1	3	1	3
14/10/64	Building Committee	Investigate bldg. possibilities	3	2	1	0	3
16/2/65	Community Bldg. Com.	"	4	1	3	0	4
16/2/65	Community Finance Com.	Investigate financial Possibilities	5	0	5	0	5
3/65	Nominating Committee	Nominate candidates	3	0	3	0	3
Total number of individuals appointed:			104	39	65	20	84

From this table we note that the individuals appointed to various committees through the I.C.A. belong to the white ethnic group in 80% of the cases, and to the transient portion of the population in 62% of the cases.

Another type of appointed committee was noted in the case of the "Centennial Committee". This group was to be responsible for the selection of the town's centennial project, and for co-ordinating centennial year celebrations. The Northwest Territories centennial officer advised that it should be representative of the community. After much discussion, a committee was formed of eighteen individuals representing sixteen organizations. One organization was allowed three representatives, the others one each. The composition of this committee is given in Table XI.

The appointed transient white chairman considered this committee to be representative of the community of Inuvik, "not population-wise, but organization-wise". Not all voluntary associations were represented on the committee. Sports and strictly recreational clubs were omitted, as were some other institutionalized groupings such as the Holy Name Society and the Relief Society, as well as the Pre-School Association and the Advisory Committee. Some professional associations such as the N.C.P.C. Association, the R.C.N. Association, and the Hospital Association were included, while others, such as the Civil Service Association and the Teachers' Association, were omitted. It is not clear why the Advisory Committee was omitted, for it is certainly one of the more important local groups.

Table XI. Composition of the Centennial Committee by Association, Residence and Ethnicity of Representatives

Represented Association	Local	Transient	Native	White
Inuvik Community Association		1		1
Delta Women's Institute	1		1	
Women's Auxiliary		1		1
Catholic Women's	1		1	
Inuvik Lions' Club		1		1
Women's Study Group		1		1
Chamber of Commerce	1			1
Royal Canadian Legion		1		1
N.C.P.C. Association		1		1
Inuvik Hospital Association		1		1
R.C.N. Association		1		1
Boy Scouts Association		1		1
Museum & Library Association		1		1
Home & School Association		1		1
Guides and Brownies		1		1
Ing-a-mo Association	2	1		3
TOTAL: 18	5	13	2	16

The choice of the various associations to be represented on the Centennial Committee appeared to be quite arbitrary, unless it was that some associations refused or neglected to send representatives to the public meeting where the committee was formed. The writers do not know whether all voluntary associations in town were asked to send representatives to that meeting. In the case of the Advisory Committee, however, a member attended the meeting and inquired about its representation on the Centennial Committee. Our informant reported that the Advisory Committee was peremptorily set aside, and that it was stated in this meeting that "the Advisory Committee is not democratic".

Of the eighteen members of the Centennial Committee, 88% are whites and 72% are non-permanent residents of Inuvik. This unequal representation was considered to be adequately modified when the Ing-a-mo Association, a group with a majority of native local members, was allowed three representatives rather than one.

During the summer, the Centennial Committee held a meeting, which we attended. We observed the following characteristics:

- (a) Open factionalism. The group was divided into two camps. One faction supported a Community Hall as a project (as proposed by the Ing-a-mo Association); the other faction, a combined library and museum (as proposed by the Library and Museum Society). The two factions clashed over what was the best procedure to follow in making a final decision in favour of one of the two proposed projects. Except for a few individuals, the factions built up along lines of residence, local against transient.
- (b) Negative interaction between ethnic groups. Unpleasant hints were aimed at natives on topics such as alcohol, absenteeism of parents from their homes, natives' "preventing" the development of the town. The attitudes of some transient whites towards the natives was marked by such paternalism as is evident in the following statement we recorded: "Why don't you tell us what you want and then we can do something about it?"

3) Committees Neither Elected Nor Appointed

This category includes small groups of people assembling, and meetings which did not attract more than twenty individuals. As reported in one instance, members of such a group, seeing themselves as the "only interested parties", may aspire to broad decision-making authority.

THE REFERENDUM

The local people and the "new reformers" of Inuvik felt that the best formula for primary decision-making in the community was the referendum. They held that "it is the most democratic; it is a way of opening the choice to the greatest number of people, and it theoretically allows anyone in the community to take part in the decision". At the first public meeting on the Centennial Project, held in July 1965, these people said that the final decision about a centennial program for the town should be open to the whole community through a referendum. They felt it would avoid the unsatisfactory representation of local people, a mistake always present in other modes of decision-making.

At first it appeared that a referendum would in fact solve the ticklish problem of representation, for a general vote would put the two sections of the town on an equal basis. 1,239¹ individuals were eligible; 639 could be considered local (all except 7 living in the unserviced area of town), and 600 residents, those living in the crown housing area, could be called non-permanent. However, an open vote on a community issue would still appear to favour the transient white people, for the native people would be less likely to vote. We interpret the reasons for this as follows:

- (a) The low social and political awareness of the native people as a group, as shown in their general lack of concern for community affairs.
- (b) Lack of training in practical political procedure, such as that involved in casting a ballot. Except for those natives who have voted in federal and territorial elections, casting a ballot (when one cannot read the ballot and does not know exactly what to do) appears as a complicated, unusual act that discourages voting.
- (c) The native population is far less easily reached with information than is the white population. Some native people read neither English nor their own language. This reduces the efficiency of printed matter as a campaign aid. Some do not understand enough English to be reached by radio publicity programs broadcast in English. Most do not have a phone. Consequently, unless informed by personal contact, the native population is likely to have scant knowledge of the issue to be resolved by voting.
- (d) In order to harvest land resources, a part of the native population is always likely to be out of town at any one time. This reduces the number of available native votes. Trapping, caribou hunting in the fall and winter, ratting in the spring, and fishing in the summer take away considerable numbers of people. In the fall, many native men, including some who are employed, are out of town for short periods to hunt ducks and geese. Among the white population, mobility factors are likely to reduce the number of effective voters only in the summer, which is the season of transfer for the transient population and also is the holiday period when families go "outside". In the short run, the transient group is steadier than the local population. A general vote on a community issue held at any time of the year except summer favours the former as far as number is concerned. At the time of the referendum, the number of white population in town was probably at its peak, for most families were back from their holidays, while the native population was reduced appreciably by the fact that quite a number of men were out in the Delta hunting fowl.

Of these four reasons, the first, i.e. the low social and political awareness of the native people as a group, is by far the most important. There are several causes for their reaction:

- (i) Many native people do not identify with the town. Because of their mobility, some identify more with the Delta than with the town. Others have been in Inuvik for only a short time. Some of the longer-term residents still have most or all of their relatives in some other settlement, which they consider home. They have not developed a sense of belonging to Inuvik. This can be illustrated by a situation observed at a baseball game in Inuvik on a Sunday afternoon at the end of the summer. Games had been organized between "all-star" teams from Inuvik and from Aklavik. Many people from Aklavik had accompanied their team across the Delta to support them, and a great number of Inuvik people also watched the game. Almost all the Inuvik Eskimos and Indians sat in the stand behind the Aklavik players' bench and cheered wholeheartedly for the Aklavik

¹ We have not used the electoral list as such for it was incomplete: a number of names were omitted in the September 1965 census carried out in the unserviced area. We have added 72 names from our own demographic data.

team. They identified more with the predominantly native team from Aklavik than with the almost entirely white team from Inuvik.

- (ii) Many of the middle-aged generation of adults lack the formal education and the English necessary to take an interested part in community events.
- (iii) The demographic structure of the native population includes persons of all age groups, with a number of old or disabled people who do not have any interests other than domestic ones.
- (iv) The majority of native people have lived in a town for a relatively short time, and many of them are more "extended family-orientated" than "community-orientated".

This lack of social and political awareness on the part of native people was taken into account by the leaders of the Ing-a-mo Association on the occasion of the September 15th referendum. Their main effort was not aimed at informing the eventual supporters of their project, although they knew perfectly well that only a small part of the native population was aware of it, but they concentrated their efforts on getting the natives to vote after instructing them where to mark their "X" on the ballot. Without the strong organization displayed by Ing-a-mo on the day of the vote, few of these people would have come to the polling station.

The important point to be noted in this description of the first referendum in the town is that it resulted in the visible confrontation of two factions who had previously existed "in the shade". The summer's event brought their divergent interests and values into the open, although the leaders of both factions publicly deplored "the split in the community".

At public meetings, the opposition generally lies between "the two ends of town". Each of the two proposed centennial projects was initiated by and identified with one end of town, and each of the two groups sought support almost exclusively in the end of town identified with its project. The referendum seems finally to have resulted in a mass vote from each end of town. Each had an almost equal number of voters, and the Library and Museum project won a majority of only 33 of a total of over 450 votes.

The referendum decision cannot be said to express the feelings of the community as a whole concerning a centennial project. It reflected the opinion of a fraction of the population, which was opposed by another fraction of almost the same size. It showed that the community was divided on this issue and that there was no such thing as "the wish" of the community: there were the differing wishes of two factions. *community wish*

In summary, it would appear that, whatever the procedure for making community decisions, native people as a group do not participate. Decision-making is conducted in white man's terms, and local politics is dominated by whites from the south. When both groups are involved in a local issue, the result is open factionalism and negative interaction between the factions.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A natural question that arises from studying the social and political life of Inuvik is whether the town is "an entirely new setting for cultural contact between natives and whites, one where the traditional barriers to social interchange could be broken through" (Fried, 1962). If it does not serve this purpose, what future can be foreseen for the native population in the existing context, and what orientation could be given to the town in order to create a healthy and creative social environment?

The preceding chapters show that it is doubtful that Inuvik's native people will integrate into Canadian society as it is represented by white government employees temporarily residing in the town. The physical lay-out of Inuvik establishes a sharp division between "northern" and "southern" residents; and the distance between the two groups has not been overcome either by social interaction within voluntary associations or by informal social interaction. Inuvik appears to be dominated by southern white standards. Formal social life and local politics are dominated by a southern system of values and southern preoccupations. Informal social interaction tends to be concentrated in two separate areas. Thus, the new formula of the "entirely planned town" has not succeeded in creating a community in the Mackenzie Delta: it perpetuates the opposition of two existing "we's". The "native-white" dichotomy stands out in social and political events involving the two groups. They have recently been coping with open conflict on issues that have aggravated and made explicit the opposition between them. There appears to be little reason to hope than an eventual feeling of single-community identification could grow, for Inuvik is tending constantly to move further from the integrated homogeneous type of community.

Attempts at integration have been made in the past by some individuals in voluntary associations and have subsequently been withdrawn; in addition, the recent Centennial Project issue has made the split in the community most explicit. Thus it seems unrealistic and inappropriate to speak about "the Inuvik Community" and to continue to consider the town as a unit. Administrative authorities should take cognizance of the fact that there is not one community in Inuvik, but two. One is locally orientated and northern; the other, unstable and constantly facing the problem of changing membership, holds to southern middle-class values. We recommend that in the near future a community development program be set up which will accept this fundamental dichotomy as its basic assumption.

A new trend has recently appeared in the local segment of the population. Groups orientated toward strictly local needs and interests are appearing in which transient whites are little in evidence. This may represent the emergence of a new sense of common identity among the permanent residents of town, regardless of ethnic background or status. The formation of the Advisory Committee – whose elected representatives are permanent or long-term residents – has achieved the involvement of a socially heterogeneous group of individuals. Dealing with problems related to residence in the unserved area of town appears to have created a desire for local government which did not exist previously (Lotz 1962, Fried 1962). Now, the local people voice the hope that the Advisory Committee will eventually become a true town council in which only permanent and long-term residents will have a voice.

The organization of the Ing-a-mo Association also appears to indicate a new awareness of common cultural values among the natives. Through the community hall issue, this organization appears to have fostered a sense of group identification among permanent residents of the town. As noted previously, the Centennial Project referendum provoked a split within the town along lines of residence and not of ethnic background. The Library-Community Hall issue brought out strong feelings that had never before been openly defined and expressed on either side. The stimulating feeling of "belonging to a cause" was especially strong among the Community Hall project leaders, but it was also evident among the greater part of the local population.

Thus a new internal orientation is evident in the permanent segment of the town's population, a phenomenon which is most likely to lead to the building of a real community in Inuvik. Any community action program should utilize this new orientation and concentrate on achieving the integration of the permanent residents as a group.

It is doubtful whether an association such as Ing-a-mo can achieve the integration of the local population by itself, even though it is in great part responsible for the growth of the new sense of awareness necessary for such integration. It is an extremely young association, which, before it was completely organized, was pushed into an

important battle and lost it. It is also difficult to predict whether the group is likely to continue, for it now depends on white leadership, and other possibilities of strong leadership which would be recognized by the native population seem rather small. Thus it seems questionable whether Ing-a-mo can soon reach the goal for which it was created: the provision of a community hall for the local people where recreational activities could be organized. The erection of such a building and its operation by local people could be an excellent means of achieving the integration of the various cultural, ethnic and social segments of the permanent population. A sense of common identity could be created through a sense of common achievement and through the organization of activities centred on common interests.

We suggest that the first step in a community development program should concern a community hall. Direct government financing would prevent a feeling of local achievement. Organizational assistance would be preferable; this could take the form of technical advice and background leadership by community developers who could make the local people aware of the practical means of acquiring the building.

The development of native or local leadership is important to the building of a real community. Inuvik is producing traditional leaders (spokesmen), leaders of segmented groups (religious, ethnic), and "representational" leaders. The time for mere spokesmen and "representatives" is past, and a new type of leader is required in the context of the urban community. New leaders must have community-wide recognition. They must be able to speak clearly and authoritatively, to conduct meetings, and to keep records. The clerical aspect of the new leaders' functions is important. Competence and efficiency within voluntary associations is linked to the effectiveness of members being able to hold clerical offices. Handling correspondence becomes especially important because of the importance of communication with the "outside". In Inuvik, very few native individuals as yet possess the skills necessary for holding the new leadership functions required for greater participation in the national culture.

Such community leaders cannot be developed in Inuvik if the local administration favours "typical" individuals as "representatives" of the various ethnic groups. Young and promising individuals should be confronted with the outside world to widen their experience. Individuals whom the administration sends "outside" to conferences and other events should be selected with a view to developing new leadership potential.

The lack of community-wide leadership is directly related to the heterogeneity of the local population. As long as the native population is a collection of ethnic and cultural segments which have not gained a sense of common identity, community-wide recognition of a leader is unlikely.

The most important aspect of the problem of developing local leadership in Inuvik relates to the "educational" needs of mature people. An adult education program has been carried on with more or less continuity. It has seemed to lack focus, perhaps because it has constituted an additional task for the local members of the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, who already have been quite fully occupied with children. Adult education in Inuvik does not seem to be achieving much in building native leadership. Any course was organized by the local educational authorities, provided regular attendance by six individuals was guaranteed. To assist significantly in developing native leadership, serious planning of evening courses and of an adult program is necessary. In the past, courses have had varying degrees of success. Some (such as Chinese Cooking) have been attended mainly by whites, others (such as Basic English) mainly by natives. In general, the courses do not appear to have reached a great number of natives, or the right group. Basic English is unlikely to attract potential leaders who need more than the rudiments of English. To promote leadership in the local community, adult courses should be orientated towards the needs of young adults already having a 6th or 7th grade education. Advanced conversational English would seem more appropriate than Basic English, and emphasis should be put on the reading and writing of English as well. Mathematics and simple accounting would be valuable. Typing is already being taught. In addition, technical training in subjects like book-keeping, business letter-writing, and meeting procedures should be provided for the local people. It was reported that, when the need was recognized last winter, a very good course in meeting procedure was given. It was described as being competently taught and as having created a good deal of interest among the twelve persons who attended. But the class of twelve included only one native.

Undoubtedly, some significance is attached to the fact that adult courses are given at the Sir Alexander Mackenzie School, which is located in the "central district" of town, close to the crown-housing area. Apart from being physically far from the unserved area, the adult courses are connected with the impressive school, and cannot be dissociated from the Administration and the white man's world. For easier access, both psychological and spatial, courses for native adults should be given in the unserved area.

A few efforts have already been made to develop leadership among Inuvik native youngsters. The Guide Commission has been sending a few teenage girls outside on leadership courses. For unknown reasons, this does not

appear to have been successful, for the problem of native leadership within the group is still a crucial one. Such efforts must be approved and supported, since the Guide and Scout movements appeared to account significantly for the development of several young persons who are likely to play a positive social role in the future. A very good effort of the same sort was the intensive leadership course which the Playground Committee held during the summer of 1965 for playground leaders. A few native teenagers proved to be interested, and qualified. It is hoped that recruitment for these courses will be intensified among native youngsters.

To sum up the conclusions of this report, our main recommendations are as follows:

1. Official recognition should be given to the fact of two existing communities in Inuvik.
2. A community development program should be set up among the permanent segment of the town's population to foster the development of a real community.
3. The government should provide organizational assistance to help in the achievement of locally defined goals.
4. Native persons sent "outside" on representation assignments should be selected with a view to developing new leaders who can be more than symbols.
5. The adult education program should be revised with a view to developing native leadership.
6. Support should be given to local groups who try to develop leadership among native youngsters.

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